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ABSTRACT

This report presents an insight into indigenous media forms and the introduction of modern media in Japan, and follows media development through the war and occupation to the present day. The report discusses (1) the birth of the newspaper in Japan, (2) control laws and regulations, (3) press policy under the allied forces' occupation of Japan, (4) broadcasting until the end of World War II, (5) broadcasting during the occupation, (6) the introduction of television, (7) regulation of the broadcasting industry, (8) the publishing industry, (9) screen and stage media, (10) innovations in newspaper production, (11) telecommunications, (12) adoption by the Japanese media of the codes of journalism and evaluation of newspaper content, and (13) the promotion of friendship through international exchange of journalists. (HOD)

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA SYSTEMS

I. JAPAN

Communication and Society 1

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Summary of a study

made by:

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PREFACE

This is a summary version of "A Study on the Historical Development of Media Systems, their Functions and Institutional Structure in Japan".

The original study was prepared by: Shinichi Ito, Akihiko Haruhara, Yoshimi Uchikawa, Masao Takasu and Susumu Ijiri in pursuance of a contract established by Unesco with the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association.

Another study on the same subject was contracted with the Section of Journalism of the Karl Marx University, Leipzig.

The two studies represent an interesting contrast in content and presentation. Even though the guidelines for both of them were basically the same, the results differ considerably. The study on the mass communication systems in the German Democratic Republic to a large extent concentrates on the ideological and political bases of mass media as they developed after the Second World War. In contrast, the Japanese study provides an insight into indigenous media forms and the introduction of modern media which are then followed through the war and occupation up to the present day.

It is with a sense of satisfaction that we are able to include summaries of these two interesting studies in the present series of Communication and Society.

The study is not an official document of the country it refers to. The views stated therein are the author's and do not necessarily represent the official views of Japan or those of Unesco.

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FOREWORD

During the last 100 years, Japan has undergone a profound transformation from a feudal agrarian society to a modern and democratic society after the end of World War II.

During this time, the mass media initially contributed greatly to the nation's modernization through newspapers and other publications. However, since about the beginning of the 20th century, the government's control on free speech gradually tightened and from 1930 and 1945 the functioning of the mass media was severely curtailed due to the strong military invention. As a result, the free flow of information and the development of the media were greatly impaired.

The restoration of the freedom of speech, and the press and the rapid development of the media after the end of World War II greatly contributed to Japan's democratization, the protection of the people's basic human rights and the country's high economic growth. The media thus played a significant role in making Japan rank among the world's foremost industrial nations within a period of only 20 odd years after the end of the war.

According to United Nations statistics, Japan leads the world in newspaper circulation, while radio and television cover almost all households in Japan. More than 2.5 billion magazines and over 1.1 billion books are published annually. Other media, such as motion pictures, records and tapes have gained widespread acceptance. Japan thus belongs among the countries that have the world's most developed mass media system.

In recent years, however, the rapid development of the mass media has resulted in the phenomenon of information saturation. There is a growing trend towards increase in the "wasted" i.e. not consumed, information, In these circumstances, serious studies are now being undertaken on the problem of excessive information by re-examining not only the mass media but also all other processes of communication.

At the same time, studies are also under way on the changes in the

circulation of information through the development of the so-called new media which will meet the individual needs of as many people as possible.

Japan is an isolated island. Furthermore, the Japanese language is spoken only in a limited area of the world. The mass media have to operate under geographic and cultural conditions and restraints peculiar to Japan. It has been said that this is of great disadvantage to the Japanese mass media in terms of their contribution to international understanding and world peace. The Japanese mass media, though highly developed by world standards, will have to make further efforts towards the solution of these problems, and the promotion of international communications.

The following study on the historical development of the mass media in Japan, their organization and social functions was prepared by the following five writers:

Institute of Journalism, the University of Tokyo
Director Shinichi Ito
Professor Yoshimi Uchikawa
Sophia University, Faculty of Literature
Professor Akhiko Haruhara
Research Institute, Nihon Shimbun Kyokai
Director Masao Takasu
Managing Director Susumu Ijiri

The paper does not necessarily reflect the views of Nihon Shimbun Kyokai - the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editor's Association. It is hoped that the example of the successes and failures of the Japanese mass media will be of value to other countries.

Masaaki Kasagi
Secretary General
Nihon Shimbun Kyokai

I Introduction

by Shinichi Ito

Ordinarily, when people talk about modern Japan, they refer to developments following the advent of the Meiji government in the latter half of the 19th Century. However, in order to understand the special character of Japanese society, we should start from a much earlier period in Japan's history.

Towards the end of the 16th Century, the great warrior general Tokugawa Ieyasu built a castle at Edo, a plateau at the end of a bay surrounded by two peninsulas in the eastern part of Japan. In 1603, when Ieyasu was appointed Shogun, or the head of the feudal government, Edo became the center of administration. By early 18th Century, it had grown into Japan's biggest city with a population well over 500,000.

The change of the seat of the government from Kyoto to Edo did not affect the former's prosperity. Kyoto had been the administrative center since the end of the 8th Century. Kyoto continued to be the religious and cultural heart of the country. By the 18th Century, Kyoto's population exceeded 600,000, if the newly rising commercial city of Osaka located some 50 kilometers to the south was included. The two cities constituted a culture area rivaling that of Edo, the present Tokyo.

Thus, Japan now had two centers, one in the East and the other in the West, for all phases of national activity, except the administrative. Although the Tokugawa shogunate directly ruled the two big cities of Kyoto and Osaka in western Japan, their inhabitants to this day still speak with an accent clearly distinguishable from that of the people of Tokyo. They still preserve many words and expressions unique to their locality.

Urban culture was not limited to the three central cities. By enacting a "one castle per province" law, the Tokugawa government restricted construction of castles by the daimyo, or feudal lord of a province. The daimyo thus had to concentrate all urban activities in his province to an area around the

castle. Some of these castle towns grew into fairly big cities; those containing a population exceeding 100,000 numbered more than ten in the 18th Century.

It was mandatory for each feudal lord to come up to Edo every other year to perform his official duty. These visits helped to develp transportation between the provincial cities and Edo.

In the 1630's, the central government tightened its ban on Christianity and took various measures to restrict trade with other countries. Only Chinese and Dutch merchants were allowed to trade with the Japanese in Nagasaki, and overseas information was supplied only by Dutch traders.

Historians are debating to this day the question of whether or not these policies benefited Japan. At any rate, because of the ban on foreign trade, Japan was able to avoid war for more than two centuries. Even without armed forces, the central government maintained its rule for a long time because the political and economic power of the provincial lords was weak.

In this isolated Japan, a culture unique to the country flowered from the end of the 17th Century through the 18th Century. Ogata Korin perfected the decorative fine arts. Hishikawa Moronobu popularized "ukiyoe" gener painting depicting the everyday life of the people. The samurai class enjoyed the Noh theatre and patronized the art of the tea ceremony. Urban culture was not a monopoly of the samurai. The inhabitants of cities read literary works by Ihara Saikaku and enjoyed "ningyo joruri", puppet dramas or Kabuki plays based on works written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who is often compared to William Shakespeare.

Urban culture flourished in Kyoto and Osaka which draw upon the production of close-by farming villages rising markedly due to the use of new farming methods which were propagated through books and other publications. There was no fundamental antagonism between cities and farming communities in Japan. In this era when social status and rank

were all important, farmers were ranked immediately below the samurai, at least theoretically.

Needless to say, publishing vecame very active in cities. Young merchants educated at "terakoya" private schools strove for selfimprovement by reading. Merchants had held a low rank but they gradually accumulated wealth by handling rice distribution, which formed the basis of economic life; and their financial influence grew, often to exceed that of the samurai class.

When American warships came to the port of Uraga in 1853, the Japanese forces were no match for them The Tokugawa government yielded to the foreign pressures and accepted unequal treaties. This angered the conservative forces in the country and unable to suppress them by force, the Tokugawa government finally gave up its rule in 1867. The opposition forces took advantage of the confusion to start an armed struggle. This civil war was to last 18 months.

One of the important decisions made by the new government shortly after it came into power in 1868 was to change the name of Edo to Tokyo and to make it the seat of the central government. The feudal system was abolished, and all administrative power was taken away from the feudal lords. The people in the entire country were placed directly under the rule of the central government.

The major objective of the government was to build up national wealth and strong armed forces. In exchange for the social equality the people had to accept the military conscription system. The newly organized army demonstrated its strength only five years after its formation by subjugating a large-scale uprising of the old samurai class.

Japan obviously needed modern industry in order to build up national wealth. By using revenue collected under the revised taxation law from farmers, the government promoted industry. The cities were promoted at the expense of the farmers.

The population of Japan increased and had nearly doubled by the

eve of World War II. During these 70 years, however, the number of farming households did not change appreciably and rice production remained almost the same. There was an exodus of people to the cities from the farming villages, but family ties with the villages remained intact in various forms.

Even today, more than 30 years since World War II ended, many people temporarily return to the farming villages from the cities during the summer holidays in August and over the New Year holidays. This migration of people working in cities going back to their hometowns serves the dual purpose of renewing ties with relatives and of enjoying inexpensive holidays.

Where such life-related customs are preserved, there is less possibility for antagonism between cities and farming villages. Cities maintain their roots in the rural villages, whereas farming villages absorb technologies developed in cities. This decreases the risk of the central government and local governments being pitted against each other. Local governments accept guidance from the central government without much resistance, while the central government is solicitious of local interests.

As Japan gradually opened her door to the world again, her people realized the need to call entire Japan "kuni". "Kuni" means either a country and a state or a province and the Japanese still have the custom of calling their birthplace or their ancestors' bithplace "kuni".

The new regime, established in the Meiji Era which began in 1868, had to continue two policies to which the Tokugawa shogunate had given priority since immediately after the outbreak of the civil war. One was the control of information, and the other was the creation of an educational system.

At first, the new Meiji government had imposed a licensing system on the publication of newspapers. However, as the regime stabilised, the government revised this system so that any Japanese national was able to publish a newspaper. The only condition was the deposit of

security money with the government. However, the administration reserved the right to suspend the publication of newspapers. There were many restrictions on the editorial content of newspapers, e.g. specialized articles on diplomacy and military affairs and these restrictions gradually became very complex.

The Meiji government was fully aware of the importance of newspapers. It encouraged people to read newspapers and gave various privileges to newspapers companies. Later, it granted subsidies and even attempted to publish its own newspaper.

At the turn of the century, newspapers emphasizing news reports and literary works aimed at increasing readership of city residents achieved financial independence and took the lead in the newspaper world. In the 1910's a concerted attack by all newspapers forced a cabinet to resign.

After World War I, strong demands calling for universal suffrage were raised in newspapers. The Election Law was amended at long last in 1925, and suffrage was granted to males 25 and over. However, the conservative forces succeeded in pushing through enactment of the Maintenance of the Public Order Law. The law was supposed to aim at the suppression of illegal political activities. However, the word "kokutai", meaning national polity, used in the context of the law was given an extremely broad interpretation. The result was rigid thought control.

In the 1930's, the newspaper companies, preoccupied with an intense circulation race, were not too keen to criticate the government. The last years of the 1930's saw moves for amalgamations or mergers, one reason being the shortage of newsprint. By 1942, the "one newspaper per prefecture" system was established. It was similar to the "one castle per province" system 300 years earlier and reduced the number of dailies in the country to only 54.

Less than three months after the outbreak of the civil war, in 1867 the Meiji government began to initiate an educational reform. For more

than 200 years, the Japanese had been aware of the importance of school education. However, as primary schools were established rapidly one after another, putting a heavy economic burden on people, it became difficult to give all children equal opportunity.

In the early 20th Century, primary school education became free and textbooks used at primary schools were subsequently restricted only to those edited by the Ministry of Education. In education the central government wielded virtually total authority. There were a number of private schools, but it was only after World War I that some of them were recognized as full-fledged universities.

After World War II Japan achieved an amazing industrial growth. In the villages, tenant farmers disappeared while in the cities, large-scale industries became dominant. However, limited space prevented large-scale farming. In the cities, the expansion of production capacity, together with various postwar reforms, prevented the emergence of an unemployed proletariat.

The educational reforms as well as increased earnings made it possible for more and more Japanese to advance to higher education. Japan is often criticized for attaching undue importance to academic background, but it must be noted also that factors other than schooling, such as wealth, social status and birthplace, have lessened in importance. In fact, a man of peasant stock who did not go to a university, has become a primer minister.

After World War II, the newspaper world made a fresh start but no longer on the basis of one newspaper per prefecture. However one of the great legacies of the wartime control on newspapers was that many of the provincial newspapers born as a result of that national policy were able to establish a solid foundation in terms of finance and editorial content.

The local newspapers gained access to overseas news and national political news by joining the Kyodo News Service organized as a coope-

rative agency. By establishing close connections with commercial broadcasting stations which were inaugurated shortly afterwards, they were also to defend themselves against new changes.

National dailies tried to penetrate the local markets by publishing local editions even before World War II. The three major national newspapers clearly emphasized the existence of a conflict of interests with local newspapers by breaking away from the Kyodo News Service in 1952. Moreover, in the second half of the 1970's, VHF commercial TV networks were regrouped into conglomerates headed by various national daily newspapers. This caused the rivalries between national dailies and local newspapers to spread to the broadcasting field.

Despite increasing difficulties, Japanese daily newspapers have maintained the home-delivery system which accounts for an overwhelming part of their total circulation. Generally, in the city of publication and neighbouring towns, both the morning and evening editions of dailies are delivered to individual homes. In highly competitive areas, one circulation agent handles only one newspaper.

In Japan, it is extremely rare that a person without a university degree is employed as a reporter of any daily newspaper. Some universities have had journalism courses since before World War II and the number of Universities which started education and studies on journalism after the war has increased considerably. However, Japanese newspapers seldom attach importance to the journalistic training given at universities. Candidates must pass stiff company entrance examinations and the successful ones are employed and trained as reporters by the newspapers themselves.

After World War II, newspaper reporters, with rare exceptions, joined labour unions. Newspaper unions, like other labour unions in Japan, are organized on a company basis and not by trades. It seldom happens in Japan that members of a newspaper company union change jobs and transfer to rival newspapers.

In 1946, the majority of influential general daily newspapers joined

to organize the Nihon Shimbun Kyokai (NSK) as an organ to represent the Japanese newspaper world. Some specialized papers, news agencies and a small number of broadcasting stations also joined NSK. The principal aim of NSK was to observe the Codes of Journalism formulated primarily by newspaper editors. In the course of time, the NSK began to deal with business problems of common concern to its members. There are though a number of newspapers that have not joined the NSK. Among them the Akahata which is the organ of the Japan Communist Party, and the Seikyo Shimbun published by the religious organization Soka Gakkai (Value Creation Society). Both are national papers, distributed throughout Japan via their own organization channels.

Sports papers also have a significant place in Japan's newspaper world. There are more than 10 sports dailies which carry entertainment items and leisure information besides sports news. The larger ones have a circulation of nearly one million. Some are distributed throughout Japan, and more than half of the circulation is by home delivery.

Some influential local newspapers have a circulation of 200,000 up to nearly 500,000 and it would be appropriate at times to regard them as metropolitan papers. On the other hand, there are many papers published for readership in much smaller areas. Free newspapers aimed primarily at people living in newly developed housing estates and housing complexes in the suburbs of big cities have grown considerably in circulation.

One of the new trends observed after World War II the importance given to public relations not only by the central government but also by various other administrative organs. Most government ministries and agencies provide office space for members of the press and are very cooperative in giving information to newspapers and other news media. Many local administrative organs publish monthly PR papers which are similar in format to regular newspapers, and these papers are usually delivered to all homes within the jurisdiction of local governments.

Newspapers which have been playing the principal role among news media for a long time and the broadcasting industry which has more recently

established its position as a new and rising news medium have problems in common. Newspapers have gradually advanced into the field of telecommunications for their own survival. In broadcasting, it has become technically possible to distribute "print" information on the TV screen.

In this situation the role of government will undoubtedly assume increasing importance. Should a government organ exercise powerful influence in areas important for the proper functioning of news media, it will lead to a new question: who, whill watch the watcher, how will the watch on this government control be organized?

On the other hand, news organs which are increasingly growing in scale and becoming more complex in structure will have to find more effective ways of maintaining public confidence so that they will not become merely machines for conveying one-sided information. For broadcasting, which is essentially a licensed undertaking, there is a system of Programme Councils, which is, however, not very effective as yet. The newspaper world still lacks rules to regulate the whole industry for the handling of readers' complaints.

The changes which have been taking place for over 400 years are not yet over. Almost all the technical conditions needed to cope with new changes have been developed. The state in which Japan will greet the 21st Century will depend on the progress to be made in the next 20 years.

II. Media in Japan

a. Newspapers

by Akihiko Haruhara

History

The first newspaper appeared in Japan almost 120 years ago. Since then newspapers have played a major role in the transformation and development of the country from a feudal society to a modern society.

In the period before Japan became established as a modern state, the country was a feudal society dominated by the samurai classes under the control of the Tokugawa Shogunate which assigned feudal lords known as Daimyo to various parts of the country. These Daimyo ruled the farmers and townspeople of their respective fiefdoms.

In order to convey notices and messages to the people, the feudal lords did use sign posts and bulletin boards, but in most cases they relied on verbal communication. The range of news thus conveyed was limited in content to matters related to the fief and neighbouring districts.

The only sources of outside news in this agricultural society were itinerant entertainers and Buddhist monks. Hardly any foreign news came into Japan because the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867) after 1639 adopted a policy of national seclusion. To farmers in the feudal ages news other than that concerning their own community was out of their reach.

The only printed means of communicating news in a few major cities such as Edo and Osaka was a single sheet of woodblock print (sometimes several sheets in pamphlet form) which in later years came to be known as "kawara-ban". The "kawara-ban" was published when natural disasters like fires, earthquakes, tidal waves and volcanic eruptions occurred, or such incidents as lovers' suicide, vendettas and vengeance. The contents of the "kawara-ban" were read out at street corners for a fee. It was similar to the German Flugblatt in the 15th Century. The oldest "kawara-ban"

extant today is one which was published in Kyoto in 1619. The "kawara-ban" continued to be published throughout the Tokugawa era until the mid 19th Century.

Also in this period a number of books and illustrated story books were published but limited to cities such as Edo, Osaka and Kyoto. Consequently, the control measures of the Tokugawa Shogunate were confined to these cities; the system of control made it compulsory for publishers to submit a notification of publication. However, there was quite a number of illegal publications whose places of publication were not known. Even though the Shogunate's control of publications was not very harsh, it was consistently severe with regard to pornographic publications (books and single sheet pictures) and stories about lovers' suicide (which were regarded as disrupting the order of the feudal system).

From around the end of the 18th Century, the Shogunate began to license publishers and exercised control by authorizing the publishers' guild to regulate publications. In the 19th Century, the Shogunate banned love stories and placed the publication of translations on a permit system. Thus, piece by piece, the Shogunate built up a system for the control of publications.

Birth of the Newspaper

The first newspaper in Japan appeared in one of the ports, Nagasaki, which had been opened for foreigners, on June 22, 1861. It was "The Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser", published by an Englishman, A.W. Hansard. It was in English and issued twice a week.[1)]

In 1862, the foreign affairs department of the Tokugawa Shogunate trans-

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1) This newspaper ceased publication on October 21, 1861, with its 28th edition. A.W. Hansard moved to Yokohama where he started "The Japan Herald" on November 23 of the same year. This paper continued until September 14, 1914.

lated the "Javasche Courant" which was presented to it by Holland, and began selling it through bookshops in Edo as the "Official Batavia Shimbun" (newspaper). Generally regarded as the first newspaper in the Japanese language, the purpose of publication of this newspaper was to make the feudal lords and intellectuals aware of the world by giving them information on other countries.

On January 29, 1871 the "Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun" started publication as the first daily newspaper in Japan. (It ceased publication in 1941). Unlike the newspapers before this time, which were pamphlet-type and printed on hand-made Japanese "washi paper", this newspaper was printed on a single sheet of machine-made paper. Compared to its predecessors, the format was thus closer to that of today's newspaper. This was quickly followed by the establishment, in the main cities throughout the country, of newspapers which have continued to the present day. Started in 1872 were Tokyo's first daily newspaper "Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun" (today's Mainichi Shimbun), the "Yubin Hochi Shimbun" (predecessor of today's Hochi Shimbun) and the oldest newspaper in Kofu, "Kochu Shimbun" (today's Yamanashi Nichi-Nichi Shimbun), a regional paper.

In this period, the government took positive steps to foster newspapers under its policy of promoting the civilization and enlightenment of the nation. These included central government purchase of newspaper copies for distribution to all prefectural governments, exemption of postage for the mailing of newspaper manuscripts, and low postage for the mailing of daily newspapers. In addition, prefectural governments published newspapers and provided printing facilities for newspapers.

Among today's papers with a nationwide circulation, the "Yomiuri Shimbun" started publication in 1874, in Tokyo, the "Nihon Keizi Shimbun" in 1876 also in Tokyo and the "Asahi Shimbun" in 1879 in Osaka.

The government gradually shifted its policy from guidance and promotion of newspapers to control. Of great significance was the adoption of the libel law and the newspaper ordinance of June 1875. This ordinance was the first fully sistematized newspaper publication subject to licensing and made

any violations of the formalities of publication liable to the ban on and suspension of publication. The editor, reporter and publisher were made liable to punishment in the event that offending political articles were published. It was a law clearly aimed at restricting political comment.

The aim of the libel law which was established at the same time was not so much the protection of the honour of individuals as the suppression of criticism against government officials.

During this period the new Meiji government, taking the Western countries as a model, adopted a policy of building an affluent and militarily strong country and of promoting industry. However, the transition from a feudal system to a modern capitalistic system was fraught with difficulties. Without previous accumulation of capital, the only way to proceed with industrialization was to increase the land and to make landowners invest their profits in industrial modernization. The weakness of the new government's fiscal policies led to indiscriminate issue of non-convertible paper currency. This sparked inflation which became increasingly serious. In order to put its finances on a more solid footing, the government in the latter half of the 1870's shifted to an expansionist policy and adopted strong deflationary measures. However, these measures increased the sufferings of the peasants, leading to peasant uprisings in many parts of the country.

Against this background, the newspapers pressed for a parliamentary system, reduction of the land tax and the revision of these measures, the government announced in October 1881 that a parliament would be established 10 years later, in 1890. This announcement was followed by moves to organize political parties. Drawn into the political activities of these parties, even already established newspapers became supporters of one or other of the parties and soon transformed themselves into political party organs of newspapers of a particular political line.

Among the newspapers which had become attached to political parties, those which supported the opposition Jiyu-to and Kaishin-to parties were much

stronger than the ruling party papers. In order to check these newspapers, the government adopted a series of measures restricting the activities of anti-government papers. Furthermore in April 1883, the newspaper ordinance was revised and further repressive measures were adopted, including a system of security deposits for publication and extended powers of the Home Minister to ban or suspend publication.

The system of security deposits appears to have been a big blow to the newspapers of the time. Within one month after the new ordinance was promulgated, the number of companies which applied for a publishing license by depositing security was 83, while 32 companies notified the government that they were closing down. In July of the same year, the government started publication of the "Official Gazette" in order to disseminate widely its own views. The anti-government newspapers were placed in a very difficult position and the opposition parties faced disintegration under government oppression and internal discord. As a means of survival, the newspapers gradually weakened their ties with political parties and began to become conveyors of general news.

Reuters was the first foreign news agency that supplied Japan with overseas news. Reuters reportedly opened bureaus in Nagasaki and Yokohama in 1871. These bureaus were not for supplying news directly to Japanese newspaper companies but for providing foreign trading firms and foreign residents in Yokohama with the news Reuters had collected in Shangai. Reuters' foreign news service attracted the attention of Jiji Shimpo (1882-1936) in Tokyo, who successfully negotiated with British merchants in Yokohama in 1893 to gain access to the same news as supplied to foreign firms and residents in Yokohama. Influential newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka subsequently negotiated with Jiji Shimpo to jointly buy Reuters' news.

In 1887 a news agency specializing in stock market information appeared. It was called Tokyo Kyuho-sha (quick news agency), and was the pioneer of commercial news agencies in Japan. It was followed in 1888 by Jiji Tsuhinsha, Japan's first modern press agency. The news agencies distributed official government announcements as well as general news and political comment. Common to the early-day news agencies were their links with political parties

and to advertising agencies.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 was a momentous event in the history of Japan. It was the first war since the modernization of the Japanese military establishment and the introduction of universal conscription. Consequently, the public interest in the war was extremely high. The leading newspapers of the major cities dispatched was correspondents and issued single sheet extras to give flash reports on the fighting. It was from the time of this war that newspaper distribution spread to every corner of the nation, and that newspaper publication became viable as a business enterprise.

At the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) the competition to publish extra issues was even more intense than in the Sino-Japanese War. To respond to the desire of the public to obtain news as fast as possible, the publication of evening papers was started. The Hochi Shimbun, which was until then issuing only morning papers, began offering to subscribers in October 1906, a morning edition and an evening edition as a set. This proved a big success and all influential papers began to publish evening editions in a set with their morning editions. Thus the publication of the morning-evening set became the established pattern in Japan.

As a result of the newspaper criticism of the government regarding the Portsmouth peace treaty conference following the Russo-Japanese War and the emergence of socialist newspapers, the government began to strengthen its restrictions on newspapers. In May 1909, the newspaper ordinance was strengthened and made into the Newspaper Law. This law doubled the amount of security to be deposited by publishers and revived the executive power to suspend newspapers which had been abolished in 1897. The Newspaper Law controlled Japan's newspapers until the country was defeated in World War II.

With the advent of the 20th Century the number of newspaper readers steadily expanded. In 1872 a modern educational system and school system were started in Japan, and by 1910 almost complete universal education had

been attained. The increase in the number of capitalist enterprises resulted in the widening of the new middle class of corporate employees. They, together with teachers, doctors, technicians, journalists, artists, lawyers and others engaged in liberal progressions constituted a social stratum with an educational level of middle school and above which formed the basis of the newspaper readership and supported the development of newspapers in Japan.

From about the time of the First World War, newspaper companies began to station correspondents abroad on a permanent basis. The dozen or so of the leading newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka sent correspondents to Paris to cover the 1919 Peace Conference at Versailles, which was the first occasion on which Japanese reporters in large numbers entered the stage of international news competition.

In the early days, newspapers in Japan were sold in book shops, by street hawkers and through the mail. Gradually, the head offices of newspapers set up directly affiliated distribution agents who began to deliver the papers to each home. This home delivery system was a crucial factor in raising the newspaper distribution rate in Japan. The home delivery system in addition ensured regular monthly sales income, and thus played a vital role in stabilizing the management of newspapers.

Even as the Election Law was amended to allow all male citizens to vote (1925), the Maintenance of Public Order Law was promulgated. This Law was aimed at prohibiting association and movements whose objectives were the reformation of the national structure and the denial of the private property system. Subsequently, this law was used as the basic law with which to suppress free speech.

For about 10 years from the latter half of the 1930's to the first half of the 1940's, the Japanese press was placed under strict wartime control. The first step was the forcible amalgamation of the news agencies into one national agency (Domei Tsuhin-Sha). To regiment public opinion,

the government decided to control and intensify news propaganda. It first established in the autumn of 1932 an unofficial information committee aimed at promoting liaison and co-ordination among concerned Ministries. In July 1936 the committee became an official government organ, which in 1940 became the Cabinet Information Bureau, an organ for the centralized control of national news and the regimentation of information and propaganda.

Control Laws and Regulations

Press control was tightened further in 1941 when the Pacific War started, and the government was given the power to suspend at will the publication of newspapers that carried reports considered undesirable. The newspaper industry also faced a shortage of newsprint, ink and other materials. The number of newspaper pages decreased. Competition to increase circulation died down naturally and common agents transported, delivered and collected bills for all newspapers; the newspaper industry had entered an age of rationing.

Mergers of newspaper publishing companies were also pushed forward. The number of daily newspapers decreased from about 1,200 (total including weeklies, monthlies and trade papers was about 13,000) in 1937, when the Sino Japanese War started, to a mere 55 in 1943 as a result of mergers. The integration of newspapers was partly aimed at saving manpower and materials, but its real purpose was wartime control of speech and the press. Each prefecture was assigned one newspaper, except for the two largest cities of Tokyo and Osaka, which were left with some fiva national newspapers and a few more specialized papers. Thanks to these mergers the newspapers were able to sever connections with political and financial circles and secure independence. Moreover, the government exerted strong influence to separate capital and management of newspaper companies and ordered that all shares of newspapers companies be held by their executives and employees. Thus, the map of the newspaper world as we see it today was decided at that time.

Press Policy under the Occupation

The General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), which occupied Japan following its defeat in August 1945, made its basic policy the destruction of Japan's military capability and the nation's democratization. Therefore, it suspended or abolished the laws and regulations concerning control of free speech and issued on September 10 the memorandum concerning Freedom of Speech and Press. It banned news reports that were considered not true or detrimental to public peace and false or subversive criticism and rumours concerning movements of the Allied occupation forces or the Allied Powers. The penalty for violation was suspension of publication or business. On September 12, SCAP issued the Memorandum concerning a Press Code for Japan and started precensorship by the Civil Censorship Detachment of the GHQ in October.

Although the newspapers were decontrolled and key wartime editorial executives were removed after the war, those newspapers which had been established before the war were allowed to continue business without being suspended, a situation different from that in Germany which was also defeated in the war.

However, the situation was different for news agencies. The Allied Powers indicated their intention to order dissolution of the Domei News Agency which co-operated in Japan's war effort by regimenting domestic and overseas reports. Domei, therefore, was dissolved and the Kyodo News Service and the Jiji Press were established - the former as a news agency owned by newspapers and broadcasting stations throughout the country, mainly for the purpose of supplying domestic and foreign news. The latter was a joint-stock company designed to issue daily reports for government agencies and to engage in publications.

At the same time, foreign news began to flow into Japan again. The supply of news to Japan by American, British and French news agencies and reports from correspondents abroad had been suspended when the war started in December 1941. About a month after Japan's defeat, UP, INS, AP, the New York Times, etc., concluded contracts again with their prewar clients in Japan. However, the amount of foreign news printed was

minimal because the newspapers had only two pages in those days.

It was the policy of the Allied forces to foster the development of provincial newspapers and newly established newspapers. As a result in 1946 an unprecedently large number of newspapers were launched. However, their foundation was weak and their quality was inferior to that of well-established newspapers, which had long traditions, and most of them went out of business within a few years, except for those in specific fields, such as sports newspapers and English language newspapers.

The United States played the leading role in the occupation of Japan and promoted freedom of speech and objectivity in press reports. It is undeniable that the democratization policy enhanced the status and prestige of the mass media. The new constitution of Japan, promulgated in 1946, guarantees in Article 21 absolute freedom of speech to the people of Japan as follows:

"Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed.

"No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated".

The Japanese press also adopted its Codes of Journalism in July 1946 and declared its intention to promote higher ethical standards. Newspapers that supported this objective organized the Nihon Shimbun Kyokai (Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association) in order to observe the codes and promote the mutual interest of newspapers.

The Japanese press thus made fresh start after the war but its reconstruction faced great difficulties due to the restrictions during the occupation (restrictions on news gathering, comments and criticisms) and a shortage of personnel, equipment and materials.

In September 1951, the Japanese peace treaty was signed in San

Francisco, and Japan recovered its sovereignty and was reinstated in the international community. Japanese newspapers immediately started to re-establish their international news-gathering networks and opened overseas offices and sent correspondents abroad. Japan was beginning to recover stability following the confusion of the immediate post-war years. Newspaper circulation began to increase and newsprint prices and supply were decontrolled. The wartime joint circulation sales and delivery systems crumbled and the newspaper industry entered an age of free competition. Toward the end of that year, leading Japanese newspapers started publishing morning and evening editions in a set as they had done in the pre-war years.

In the same year, Japan started commercial radio broadcasting. In establishing the new radio stations, newspaper companies played the leading role. When commercial television started in 1953, newspaper companies, mainly those with nation-wide circulation, again played central roles.

Newspapers used exclusive agents to increase their circulation through home delivery. During this war, they had suspended sales competition because of the joint sales system, but now they entered into intense competition in various parts of the country as the age of free competition started. Therefore, the Fair Trade Commission in 1955 banned "specific unfair methods of transactions in the newspaper industry" (such as soliciting subscriptions by offering gifts or distributing free copies) under the provisions of the Act Concerning Prohibition of Private Monopoly and Maintenance of Fair Trade. However, the long-established practices in the newspaper industry to increase circulation through intense sales competition remain uncorrected.

Technical innovations in production followed the reconstruction of the newspaper industry. There had been hardly any technological improvements or progress in the field of newspaper production during and immediately after the war. However, it became absolutely necessary for newspapers to replace the facilities and machinery installed in pre-war years in order to cope with an increase in circulation. Therefore, the nationally circulated newspapers took the lead in starting technical research in newspaper production in the 1950's.

Thus mechanization of the typesetting process, centering on the use

of automatic monotypes and later teletypes using Chinese characters, was promoted.

In 1959, the Asahi Shimbun began facsimile transmission of news pages from Tokyo to Hokkaido, thereby becoming the first company in the world to use facsimile for printing newspapers.

Subsequently, Japanese newspapers adopted photo-typesetting machines and computers for newspaper production and developed high-speed off-set presses. They also developed advanced techniques in the fields of equipment and machinery.

Postwar Japan has no press law designated to regulate newspapers directly. However, applicable to the press are many laws covering freedom of speech, protection of official secrets, libel and obscenity, copyright, etc.

As of October 1977, Japanese newspapers had an average of about 35 pages a day in the case of nationally circulated newspapers and about 27 pages in the case of leading procincial newspapers. The Japanese spend a daily average of about 50 minutes to read newspapers. The following table shows the percentage of reader interest in various items in the metropolitan and provincial areas:

Conclusion

The Japanese press has a history of more than a century. Although its history is short compared with that of the European press, the past century was a period of "Sturm und Drang" in which the country changed from a feudal to a modern society. The press has played a major role in introducing advanced Western civilization and modernizing Japan, needless to say, the press has been able to play this role because of the spread of education (decreased illiteracy), urbanization and the growth of the national economy. The function of the press was distorted from the 1930's

through the Pacific War by war-oriented national policies. After the war, however, the press contributed greatly to the discrediting of militarism, the democratization of Japan and the protection of basic human rights.

TABLE

	Metropolitan area (Tokyo)				Provincial area (Niigata City)			
	Read constantly	Read occasionally	Don't read	No answer	Read constantly	Read occasionally	Don't read	No answer
Radio, TV programs	72.5	21.9	3.5	2.1	71.1	16.8	6.4	5.7
City news	72.5	23.9	2.5	1.2	64.9	24.4	4.5	6.1
Political news	43.5	46.8	8.1	1.6	39.4	40.1	14.6	5.9
Sports news	43.5	36.8	16.9	2.8	38.3	26.5	27.6	7.6
Local news	42.5	43.6	9.6	4.3	65.2	22.2	5.7	6.8
Home life, women's news	37.2	34.6	23.5	4.7	36.0	25.6	30.0	8.3
Economic news	28.7	38.8	28.4	4.1	24.7	33.8	34.2	7.2
Culture	27.9	51.8	15.1	5.2	24.8	43.9	23.3	7.9
Entertainment news	27.0	51.8	16.6	4.6	24.3	42.4	24.7	8.6
Columns	24.4	52.2	25.3	8.1	20.9	32.2	31.1	15.8
Editorials	22.8	47.3	25.4	4.5	20.3	37.5	33.8	8.3
International news	22.1	48.9	24.4	4.6	23.6	40.5	27.0	8.9
Letters to editor	21.4	54.3	18.6	5.8	33.6	37.4	20.6	8.5
Commentaries, serials	21.2	45.1	28.2	5.5	23.2	32.3	35.5	9.0

(Source) Surveys conducted in 1977 (for Tokyo) and 1978 (for Niigata City) by the Research Institute of the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association.

b. Broadcasting

by Yoshimi Uchikawa

Outline

In March 1925 the human voice was broadcast over radio waves for the first time in Japan only five years after the first radio broadcast in the world.

The start of radio broadcasting in Japan was not so far behind other countries when compared to the first newspaper publication in the country.

In the beginning radio broadcasting in Japan was run by non-profit private organizations. At first there were three stations which merged one year later to form the Japan Broadcasting Corp. During the period of war which started in 1931 the Japan Broadcasting Corporation was forced to play the role of a state-run broadcasting organization.

In August 1945, World War II ended. Japan was defeated and occupied by the allied forces centered around the U.S. Armed Forces. The occupation forces disbanded the power structure of the old Japanese military regime and implemented policies to democratize Japan. In this process, broadcasting in Japan was freed from government control and regained independence.

However, its institutional foundation remained intact. At the suggestion of the occupation forces, preparatory work to establish a free and democratic broadcasting system based on a new institutional foundation was undertaken.

In April 1950, laws regarding radio broadcasting were passed by the Diet and broadcasting in Japan entered a new phase. The old Japan Broadcasting Corporation was disbanded and a new public enterprise having the same name was established under the Broadcast Law.

The new Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Nippon Hoso Kyokai - NHK)

was called upon to contine its public service, while at the same time the way was opened up for commercial broadcasting by revising the old monopolistic broadcasting system.

The present industry is run under the new broadcasting system established at that time. Thus, this section will successively deal with the broadcasting in Japan in the period up until the end of World War II, during the occupation period and finally under the new system as of today.

Broadcasting in Japan up until the end of World War II

The "radio boom" which spread in Western countries after the end of World War I found its way to Japan in the early 1920's. Amateur radio engineers and newspaper companies utilizing radio as a means of expanding circulation conducted broadcasting experiments and attracted public attention.

The Japanese government started preparations to establish a broadcasting system in response to these private moves. Under the 1915 Wireless Telegraphy Act radio communications were under the control of the government and it was considered only natural to set up a staterun broadcasting organization. However, after studying foreign broadcasting industries, the government concluded that a state-run operation was not suitable for broadcasting unlike other radio communications, and chose a system of private management. However, the government did not enact special legislation for this purpose. Instead, it authorized private radio broadcasting under a provision of the Wireless Telegraphy Law which granted the Minister of Communications powers to authorize private radio communications. Towards the end of 1923, the Rules of Private Radio Telephone Regulations for Broadcasting were promulgated as an ordinance of the Ministry of Communications. These rules governed broadcasting in Japan until new broadcast laws were enacted in 1950 after the end of World War II. The government kept strict watch and control over the content of broad-

casts on the grounds that radio programmes have a great influence on the people. At the same time, the government prohibited advertisements and instead authorized the collection of subscription fees as a source of revenue. Since broadcasting was considered as a profitable operation and attractive for investment, there was a flood of applications for broadcasting licenses. The government found it difficult to screen all these applications and changed license qualifications so as to limit qualified broadcasters to non-profit public corporations. As a result, the work to establish broadcasting stations went smoothly. From November 1924 through February 1925, the Tokyo Broadcasting Station, and the Osaka Broadcasting Station were established one after another. And on March 22nd, 1925, the Tokyo Broadcasting Station transmitted the country's first programme.

In a message broadcast on that day, Shinpei Goto, President of the Tokyo Broadcasting Station, succinctly pointed out four functions of broadcasting. He mentioned firstly, equal opportunity in access to culture, secondly renovation of domestic life, thirdly, socialization of education, and fourthly speedup of economic activities.

The main financial resources of the newly-established three broadcasting stations were subscription fees collected from listeners. The Ministry of Communications advanced the theory that broadcasting stations and listeners were under "a listening contract in private law". On the basis of this theory, it entrusted the broadcasting stations with the task of collecting subscription fees, thus rejecting the European method of government collection of fees through the telecommunication administrations. Those applying for a license to listen to radio broadcasts, were required by the Ministry to submit, in addition to "an application for permission to install a radio receiving facility", "a listening contract in private law" under which they pledged the payment of subscription fees. Thus, failure to conform to these procedures would constitute reception without permission and they would be liable to penalty under the Wireless Telegraphy Act. Therefore, "a listening contract in private law" had compulsory nature as far as the payment of subscription fees was concerned.

The Ministry of Communications favoured the concept of a single

broadcasting organization in order to promote the nation-wide spread of broadcasting and the control over the broadcasting industry.

In August 1926 it was decided to merge the Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka Broadcasting Stations and establish the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (the predecessor of the present NHK) in Tokyo. A radio broadcasting monopoly was thus established.

The Japan Broadcasting Corporation immediately created broadcasting stations in Kumamoto, Hiroshima, Sendai and Sapporo as central stations for those areas. In November 1928, it completed the country's first nation-wide relay network of seven stations including the existing ones in Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka.

The Tokyo Central Broadcasting Station began a second service in April 1931. Thus, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation gradually built up its dual broadcasting system: the original service included news, entertainment, and other general programmes; the second programme at first specialized in social education programmes and in 1935 began to play a more unique role by adding "school broadcast programmes" aimed at primary school children.

When radio broadcasts began in Tokyo in March 1925, the number of listeners was limited to about 3,500. Only seven months later, the number was above 100,000. Subsequently the number of listeners increased rather slowly which was attributed to the chronic economic stagnation of those years and the high price and technical instabilities of radio sets.

The number of listeners topped the 1 million mark in 1931. From that time on the number of listeners increased annually at a rapid pace as is shown in the table, and exceeded the 5 million mark in 1940. Radio broadcasts had become an important means of providing information on the current war situation. Furthermore, the quality of radio sets improved greatly and prices reduced through mass production.

The Ministry of Communications controlled the Japan Broadcasting

Corporation's operation and facilities and also imposed strict censorship over the content of radio programmes. The censorship of newspapers, magazines and motion pictures was normally under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior but radio programmes were placed under the Ministry of Communications. A dual system was adopted for the censorship of broadcasts. Firstly, scripts were censored prior to actual broadcasting. Then the Ministry controlled the actual broadcast. If anything banned was broadcast, the programme was cut off at once. Such censorship was in force when broadcasting first began in Japan and became stricter after the Manchurian Incident in 1931.

In 1935, Japan Broadcasting Corporation started a regular overseas service aimed at the west coast of North America and Hawaii. The short wave broadcasts in Japanese and English were chiefly aimed at Japanese residents abroad. Later programmes were broadcasts to the east coast of North America, South America, Europe and the Straights Settlements/Java.

After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in July 1937 the Japanese government's control over radio broadcasts was further tightened. At the same time, the radio programmes became more militaristic. With Japan at war, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation was foced to limit its operations to nationwide broadcasts beamed from Tokyo and local broadcasts compiled by local stations. As a result, the second programme was suspended. The government intervened in the production of radio programmes and radio was forcedto act as its mouthpiece. However, the number of radio subscribers reached a peak of 7,473,688 in 1944 accounting for 50.4 per cent of the total number of households.

Short wave radio broadcasts were also used in the government's overseas propaganda campaign. Immediately after the breakout of the Pacific War, new broadcasts aimed at the alliend powers were started. It was in these broadcasts that the famous woman announcer "Tokyo Rose" went on the air. In the peak period, overseas broadcasts were beamed in 15 directions, in 24 languages for a daily total broadcasting time of 32 hours and 35 minutes.

When Japan surrendered to the allied forces, the Emperor, who had

never before spoken to the public, went on the air for the first time and delivered a message on Japan's surrender. It is said that this broadcast on August 15, 1945, had a significant effect in preventing domestic confusion following the country's defeat.

Broadcasting during the occupation

Following Japan's surrender, the country was occupied by the allied forces led by the United States. The greatest concern of the Japanese government and the country's mass media after the end of the war was that they might be treated in the same way as in Germany where the occupation forces disbanded all the existing newspapers and broadcating organizations on the grounds that they had co-operated with the Nazi government. However, in the case of Japan, the allied powers decided differently and allowed the existing newspapers and broadcasting organizations to continue operating. The allied forces directed the Japanese government not to intervene in the information media and to adopt policies promoting independent, free and democratic mass media. As a result, many laws and decrees which had long been restricting freedom of speech in Japan were rescinded.

The allied forces liberated Japan's mass media from the Japanese government's control. However, in order to achieve the goals of occupation, the demilitarization and democratization of Japan, they imposed prior censorship on all mass media, including broadcasting. The censorship on broadcast programmes was gradually eased as from August 1947 and totally lifted in October 1949.

On September 1, 1945, the controls imposed during the war were lifted. The second broadcast programme was resumed and so were the school broadcasts. Overseas broadcasts were banned by the occupation forces except for those aimed at Japanese troops yet to return home. A ban on the reception of short wave radio broadcasts was also lifted. Amid rapid inflation and severe food shortages after the end of the war, the radio was not only an information medium but also the easiest means of consolation. Entertainment programmes patterned after American radio programmes or

music programmes showing listeners participation appeared in growing numbers. Since the production of radio valves and radio sets resumed in 1947, the number of radio subscribers increased rapidly. The number topped the war-time peak in 1948 and reached 9,192,934 in 1950 which represented 55.4 per cent of the number of households.

Three bills were passed by the Diet toward the end of April 1950. As a result, a new dual system of public and commercial broadcasting came into being a quarter of a century after the first radio broadcast in Japan. The old Japan Broadcasting Corporation was disbanded and the Japan Broadcasting Corporation was re-established as a new public enterprise based on the Broadcast Law of June 1, 1950, to make a fresh start but using the old corporation's facilities and staff. The first commercial broadcast was beamed from the Chubu Nippon Broadcasting Co's antenna in Nagoya on September 1, 1951.

From the age of radio to the age of television

The new Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) established in June 1950 is a special public service corporation based on the Broadcast Law Its objective is to broadcast programmes for reception throughout Japan. Under the new Broadcast Law, the Diet as representative of the people subjects the NHK to a certain degree of operational and financial control. But the government is not allowed to impose censorship or control on the production and editing of broadcast programmes for which the freedom of broadcast is guaranteed. It goes without saying that the freedom of broadcast is also assured to commercial broadcasters who are defined in the Broadcast Law as "the general broadcasters".

The Radio Regulatory Commission, as a new broadcasting administrative agency was set up in May 1950 but was disbanded in 1952.

The first commercial programmes were broadcast by the Chubu Nippon Broadcasting Company of Nagoya in September 1951 and were soon followed

by others such as the Shin Nihon Broadcasting Company of Osaka and the Radio Tokyo (present Tokyo Broadcasting System). At first, the programmes of commercial stations were somewhat over-shadowed by those of the NHK because of the latter's lead in this field. However, listeners did not show much adverse reaction to radio commercials and commercial broadcasting caught on much faster than originally expected. The commercial broadcasting system whereby companies sponsor programmes or pay for spot commercials.

The number of radio subscribers exceeded the 10 million mark for the first time in 1952 and increased at a rate of about 1 million annually during the following years. Such a rapid increase in the number of radio subscribers in fact reached a peak in 1958. Since then the number has gradually decreased. The initial decline in the number was attributed to the spread of television, and the later decline was also due to statistical and technical reasons brought about by a revision of the subscription fee system. It is estimated that the number of radio listeners is larger in view of the spread of portable and car radios.

Overseas broadcasts were resumed by the NHK on February 10, 1952 as a means to contribute to international understanding and goodwill by offering information on Japan to listeners abroad. The broadcasts in Japanese and English were beamed at first to five zones including North America, the Philippines/Indonesia and India. These overseas broadcasts were gradually expanded and as of March 1975, compiles programmes in 21 languages to 18 zones, thus covering the whole world.

The television age dawned in Japan when the NHK's Tokyo Television Station began its first telecast on February 1, 1953. The microwave network of the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation was expanded rapidly around this time, opening up the way for television relay to remote areas and the formation of extensive broadcast networks.

At first, TV sets used in Japan were mostly US-made and very expensive. A 17 inch TV set made by RCA-Victor of the US was priced at about ¥ 250,000 when the monthly wage of a salaried man was only about ¥ 30,000

on average. Most of those television sets were found in coffee shops or restaurants which installed them to attract customers. Individual television viewers were limited to rich people. For a majority of people, television was beyond their means.

The number of television viewers increased gradually as the NHK and commercial television companies opened new stations. After reaching the 1 million mark in May 1958, the number of television subscribers began to increase rapidly. This initial television boom was brought about by the TV coverage of the Crown Prince's wedding and street parade in Tokyo on April 10, 1959. The number of television subscribers reached the 4 million mark at the end of the year.

Colour TV started in 1960 by four NHK stations and four commercial stations (Nippon Television Network, Tokyo Broadcasting TV, Asahi Broadcasting of Osaka, Yomiuri TV of Osaka). Since then, colour television has spread gradually. Japan adopted the American NTSC system as its colour television standard.

In the 1960's, Japan was well out of the economic recovery period that followed the end of the war and entered a period of high economic growth that was described internationally as a miraculous achievement. Living standards also achieved remarkable improvements and the number of TV sets in use increased at an accelerated pace. The number of TV sets reached a peak when the Olympic Games were held in Tokyo in October 1964.

It is an undeniable fact that the Japanese broadcasting industry has contributed greatly to the democratization of Japanese politics and administration through news and other topical programmes since the end of World War II. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese broadcasting industry is assured of editorial freedom under the Broadcast Law enacted in 1950. The NHK is a public service corporation independent of government and with full editorial responsibility while following the rule that Broadcast programmes must be impartial and politically fair. Although the government and political parties have never intervened directly in

the programming of broadcasting stations, claims are sometimes raised that individual programmes are politically biased. However, it can be said that the broadcasting industry has been making steady progress as far as the principle of impartiality is concerned.

Television was officially used in parliamentary elections for the first time during the 30th general election held in November 1963 when the candidates' "personal histories and profiles" were telecast in each constituency. In June 1969, the Public Offices Election Law was revised and as a result, telecasts of candidates' political opinions" also started. At present candidates in every election are given opportunities to broadcast their "personal histories and profiles" and "political views" on radio and television at public expense.

School broadcasts were resumed shortly after the end of the war. NHK has played a central role in this field. The NHK opened "the NHK Gakuen High School" in April 1963 for youths who wanted to receive high school education while working. This was the first radio high school correspondence intended for the whole nation.

Television is a medium with far better education possibilities than radio. Thus it was only natural that there was strong interest in the educational uses of television. School television began at the same time as regular programmes when the NHK television station opened in February 1953. Various social education programmes were also telecast. There was a growing demand for further expansion of educational television. In response, in 1959, NHK started broadcasts on a new channel named Educational Television.

In Japan, commercial television stations were at first given licenses on the condition that more than 30 percent of their programmes should be of an educational or cultural nature. Furthermore, there were categories of "exclusively educational stations" or "quasi-educational stations" required to broadcast educational programmes at a much higher rate. Japan Education Television, which opened in February 1959, was a commercial television stations specializing exclusively in educational programmes,

which was probably rare in the world. However, the cost of producing educational and cultural programmes was very high, while their audience ratings were lower and, accordingly, advertising revenue was very small. Thus, the commercial stations that were exclusively educational or quasi-educational were under a continuous financial strain. In June 1962, the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications somewhat eased the required percentage of educational programmes for general television stations, and in October 1973, all of those exclusively educational or quasi-educational commercial stations were reclassified into the general commercial category. Thus, the only exclusively educational station now in operation is NHK's Educational Television. In 1979, the Ministry of Education submitted a bill to the Diet to establish a university of the air. The bill is designed to allow the formation of a television university patterned after Britain's Open University.

The commercial television industry in Japan achieved remarkable progress in keeping with Japan's high economic growth in the 1960's. Commercial television stations were originally licensed as stations to serve local communities. However, local television stations experienced various production difficulties and many sponsors of Tokyo station programmes wished nationwide broadcasts of the programmes they sponsored. Against such a background, a news network called Japan News Network (JNN) was formed in August 1959 by 16 stations with the Tokyo Broadcasting System acting as the key station. Following this, Nippon Television started its own news network named NNN, and Japan Education Television (presently TV Asahi) and the Fuji Television followed suit. These networks have rapidly strengthened their ties not only in news programming but also in other aspects and have virtually become full-scale television networks. These four networks account for nearly all of the 90 commercial television stations in the country (VHF 48 and UHF 42) as affiliates.

Regulation of the Broadcasting Industry

Broadcasting institutions in Japan, both the NHK and commercial s-

tations, enjoy the freedom of broadcast. Government intervention against broadcast programmes is not allowed under the Constitution as it constitutes an infringement of freedom of speech. However, there are severe public demands on broadcast programmes and broadcasting institutions are required to regulate their conduct themselves.

The NHK adopted working rules for programme production for the first time when the General Headquarters of the allied forces totally lifted censorship on radio broadcasts in 1949. Immediately after the start of commercial radio broadcasts, the Japan National Association of Commercial Broadcasters established similar radio broadcasting standards in 1951. Broadcasting standards for television were established in 1958. As a result of the rapid expansion of television, however, there was growing reaction against vulgar TV programmes and television's adverse influence on children. Consequently, the Broadcast Law was partially revised in March 1959: NHK and the commercial television were required to establish programme standards and to set up a broadcast programme council representing TV viewers.

In January 1965, the Broadcast Programme Improvement Committee made up of representatives from various fields was established within the Japan Broadcast Federation, a liaison organization of the NHK, the Japan National Association of Commercial Broadcasters, and other related organizations, as a self-regulatory organ for the whole broadcasting industry. Following the disbandment of the Japan Broadcast Federation in 1969, the committee was re-organized into the Broadcast Programme Improvement Council made up of the NHK and the Japan National Association of Commercial Broadcasters. However, viewer's reaction against TV programmes have recently grown stronger and both the NHK and commercial television stations are now making every effort to reflect the viewer's opinions in their programme production. NHK has been paying particular attention to this problem because the repeated increases in subscription fees have given rise to growing demands that NHK should listen to the viewers' criticisms and suggestions. In response to these demands, NHK in 1976 set up viewers' conferences in all prefectures initiating efforts to gather the viewers' opinions on its broadcast programmes and business management.

The Radio Law mainly provides for technical regulations to ensure

fair and efficient utilization of the radio frequency spectrum. The law provides for frequency allocation, licensing of broadcasting stations, their operations, and technical standards. The Broadcast Law contains provisions on freedom of broadcasting, basic programme standards, the organization of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation and the operation of other general broadcasters (commercial broadcasting stations). The Cable Television Broadcast Law regulates CATV operations. Because of the great changes in the technical and social conditions surrounding broadcasting, a revision of the two laws is now under discussion.

The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications as an administrative agency, has been in control of broadcasting since 1952. Though the Radio Regulatory Commission was abolished, the Minister of Post and Telecommunications is required to ask the opinions of an advisory body, the Radio Regulatory Consultative Committee, on the issuance of licenses, establishment of regulations, disputes over frequency assignments. However, there are not a few people who argue for the need of an independent regulatory commission free from the control of the Cabinet on the grounds that broadcast administration should not be influenced by the needs of the government in power.

Broadcasting licenses are issued after screening applications in accordance with the Radio Law, the Basic Standards for the Establishment of Broadcasting Stations. These Standards cover not only matters of a purely technical nature but also contain such important items as broadcast programme standards, and the elimination of information monopolies in local communities.

The Minister of Post and Telecommunications' supervision over broadcasting stations focuses on technical aspects of broadcasting facilities. Prior intervention against programmes is not allowed. However, if some programmes are found to have violated the Radio Law or the Broadcast Law after broadcast, the Minister can either suspend the operation of the station involved, or cancel its license. Recourse can be had through administrative litigation and other steps. There has so far been no case of a license being cancelled by the Minister of Post and Telecommunica-

tions.

The Broadcast and Radio Laws, are mainly intended to regulate technical aspects and facilities, and to lay down basic programme standards. For instance, Article 44 of the Broadcast Law provides that: 1) broadcast programmes should not be against public security and morals; 2) should be politically fair; 3) should not distort facts, and 4) should introduce varied opinions on controversial issues. However, the law provides for no penalty against violators of these provisions since it is designed, to achieve regulation of broadcast programmes through the broadcaster themselves.

There are two exceptions to the broadcasters editorials freedom. Broadcasting stations must correct or retract broadcasts on demand from those whose rights were infringed upon by those broadcasts and broadcasting stations must provide equal opportunities to all candidates seeking public office during election campaigns.

Almost all basic revenue of the NHK serving the public with broadcasts is from subscription fees paid by the viewers. The old subscription fee system before World Warr II was basically continued under the new broadcast system based on the Broadcast Law of 1950.

In other words, the theoretical hypothesis adopted under the old system whereby the NHK and listeners have a private contract was also adopted by the Broadcast Law. The law clearly stipulates that viewers must conclude reception contracts with the NHK. Under the Broadcast Law, however, provisions making new contracts obligatory are different from those of the old system in that they lack institutional support for forcing listeners/viewers to conclude contracts and pay subscription fees. This is because the Radio Law, recognizes free reception of broadcasts without requiring a government license.

Radio and television broadcasting has almost reached a saturation point in recent years, and the number of listeners/viewers is coming to a limit. On the other hand, the cost of broadcasting has been increasing. Accordingly, the NHK has been forced to repeatedly raise subscription fees

in recent years. There are also arguments about the methods to ensure smooth collection of subscription fees. One proposal calls for the institution of something like a broadcast reception tax and state allocation of funds to finance the NHK's operation. Another proposal calls for the NHK to accept advertisements like commercial stations and finance its operation with advertising revenues. However, the present subscription fee system is generally considered important and effective to ensure NHK's independence from government and advertising sponsors. In addition, the present system of collecting subscription fees directly from listeners/viewers is regarded as playing a role as a mechanism for the feedback of their opinions. Thus, there is still strong support for the continuation of the present subscription system.

c. Publications

by Shinichi Ito

The technique of movable type printing was introduced to Japan at the end of the 16th Century via two routes. One route was Korea. The emperor of the time had Chinese classics printed by using copper type from Korea. Later, Tokugawa Ieyasu, the military ruler, used Korean copper type to print Chinese classics and Buddhist writings. The other route was the Christian missionaries who brought printing machines into Japan. They printed and published Christian literature and Japanese classics and dictionaries in Kyushu and Kyoto.

The new technology, however, did not take root in Japan. One reason lay in the characteristic of movable type printing which is that when a second edition has to be made, misprints are apt to occur. The other reason lay in the special nature of Japanese writing. The Japanese had devised a technique for reading Chinese writing in the Japanese way by attaching special symbols to Chinese ideograph. The Japanese also placed letters of the Japanese phonetic alphabet alongside the Chinese ideographs adopted into their language in order to make them easy to read. Woodblock printing was more convenient than movable type for these distinctive Japanese methods. Above all, woodblock printing was more economical.

Paper was manufactured in Japan since the 7th Century and since the 8th Century, the Japanese were producing printed matter. Temple priests, politicians and big merchants both in the central and provincial areas had experience in putting out publications.

In the 17th Century, publishing became established as a specialized business in its own right with emphasis on publication not only of Chinese classics but also of Japanese classics. Popular literary works and practical textbooks in mathematics often went into several editions.

In the latter half of 17th Century, publishing spread from Kyoto to Osaka and then to Edo (present Tokyo). The publishers used itinerant

salesmen to sell in farming villages books on agricultural technology and books on practical subjects. They also began to organize book-lending.

The number of readers increased with recognition by the government and the people of the importance of education. Provincial feudal lords, built schools not only for the samurai warrior class but also for the farmers.

School education for the general public expanded steadily in the 17th Century. In the schools called "terakoya" children of both sexes were taught reading and writing, while in the cities arithmetic was an additional subject. At the start of the 18th Century, there were 800 terakoyas in Edo alone. The number of terakoya increased steadily and by the mid-19th Century, an average of 300 schools were opened every year.

The government began to control publications in the latter half of the 17th Century. At first, publications were placed on a license system but later the control was exercised through associations of publishers. Political criticism attracted stiff penalties and there was a case of an author who was sentenced to death for lampooning the government at the end of the 17th Century. News sheets, which later became to be know as "kawaraban" were repeatedly banned.

As from 1635 the import of Western publications was banned in Japan. This ban was modified in 1720 to allow the import of technical research publications. In the latter part of the century, a Dutch dictionary, books introducing the geograph, and customs of the West, and a translation of a book on human vivisection were published.

As the general knowledge of the masses increased, the gap between the warrior class and townspeople gradually narrowed. The samurai, having few battles to fight, gradually turned into bureaucrats. The wealthy merchants began to make efforts to increase their education and knowledge.

Following this trend the government conducted a survey on education

over a period of several years. In 1790, the government approved the teachings of Chu-tsu as an official academic subject and simultaneously banned the study of the teachings of other schools of thought. The government next instituted national examinations for the sons of the feudal class and established a state school for the training of Central Government Officials.

Even provincial governments began to establish public schools. Later, the schools operated by regional feudal lords added Western learning to their curriculum. The number of terakoya schools increased not only in the cities but also in the rural villages. For youth who wished to obtain higher education, government-approved schools were set up.

At the beginning of the 19th Century, there were 600 lending libraries in Edo and 300 in Osaka. For the publication of a book, therefore, it was possible to count on about 1,000 copies in one edition. Popular works reached much higher publication figures: the series of illustrated stories written by a samurai named Tanehiko Ryutei sold more than 10,000 copies a year over a period of about 15 years until they were banned. When lending libraries were opened also in provincial cities publishers, could advance into several large cities. Another important source of income for the publishers was the textbooks for use in the terakoya schools.

Government control of publications became more stringent. Publishers who printed books on current events and erotic literature were either fined, their publications banned or were banished from the cities. Eventually, censorship before publication was introduced.

In the latter half of the 19th Century, the government and various individuals began to import equipment for movable type printing. In the 1870's, a movable type of printing plant for the Japanese language opened for business in Tokyo. The production of machine-made paper, too, started in Tokyo in 1875.

In the 1870's under the rule of the new Meiji government, publishing was characterized by excellent sales of translated works and books intro-

ducing conditions in Western countries, the introduction of magazines and the important publishing activities undertaken by the government. Yukichi Fukuzawa's series on "The Situation in Western Countries", which began publishing in 1866, sold at least 150,000 copies. It is said that the translation of Samuel Smiles' "Self-Help" by Keiu Nakamura, a school teacher, sold almost one million copies.

Before the end of the 19th Century, translations ranging in diversity from Charles Darwing to Adam Smith, Tolstoi and Shakespeare were published and translated works left a deep mark, which cannot be ignored, on the ideas and culture of the Japanese people.

The Japanese have always enthusiastically imported foreign ideas. In some cases, foreign works were read and interpreted from the original text. Buddhist sutras, however, were re-translated into Japanese from the Chinese translations using methods to read Chinese writing in the Japanese way.

These methods implied a tendency to interpret the original texts on the basis of indigenous Japanese and served to foster a thinking distinctively Japanese. This process unavoidably invited misunderstanding arising from mistranslation and mistakes due to only superficial understanding of foreign texts. Thus the academic terminology of the West was often rendered in Chinese ideographs and was often unintelligible to ordinary people.

The first magazine in Japan was started at the end of the 1860's by a high official of the Tokugawa Shogunate and became established as a monthly periodical. Although there was no mass movement for the liberation of women, magazines aimed at women appeared in the 1880's. Magazines for children and those specializing in political affairs, economics and literature, too, were started. By the turn of the century there were more than 400 magazines, some with a circulation exceeding 10,000 copies.

Deserving special attention was the fact that the government itself was very active as a publisher through various Ministries.

The new government first required a license for publications but

this sytem was later changed to a requirement of notification of intent to publish. The purpose was to control criticism of the government. Magazines treating political subjects were often banned. From 1875, the control of publications was taken over by the Ministry of Home Affairs, an arrangement which continued until the end of the Second World War.

Meanwhile, the government spared no effort to consolidate the educational system. In 1868, even before it moved to Tokyo, the new government appointed a Minister in charge of education and began building schools. At the same time, in 1872, the government announced its basic policy on universal education. Within a few years, more than 24,000 schools were opened; in addition temples and even private houses were used as schools. At the same time teaching in the terakoya schools was continued. In some areas the school attendance was very poor because of inability to pay the tuition fee. In certain districts, farmers set fire to schools. It was only after the start of the 20th Century that school attendance passed the 80 % mark.

In 1890, just before the convening of the first Imperial Diet (parliament), the Imperial Rescript on Education was announced. This was regarded not as a political order but as a moral precept direct from the sovereign to the people. Copies of the Imperial Rescript on Education were distributed to all primary schools in the nation and it was made mandatory to read it at every ceremony marking public holidays. All regulations relating to education were fixed by executive order and were not subject to debate in the Diet as a legislative matter.

With the start of the 20th Century, the levying of tuition fees for primary education was abolished in principle. Up to this time, the adoption of textbooks was based on a system of authorization. Thus, greedy publishers tried to increase their sales by bribing school principals and other education officials. This practice created a scandal forcing the Minister of Education to resign his post. Taking this opportunity, the government enforced new regulations under which all primary schools had to use only textbooks written and edited by the Ministry of Education. This completed the state control of elementary education.

In 1911, a small publisher in Osaka put into book form and sold at

a cheap price the tales of the "kodan", a story-telling art which had been popular among the masses since the 18th Century. This venture which became known as the "Tackikawa Library", comprized a series of 196 stories published over a period of more than 10 years. It was immensely popular among children.

Around the same time, the Kodansha, a company which had started a magazine whose contents were mainly the shorthand record of speeches by students and scholars, scored a big success by a series of magazines aimed at women, boys and girls.

In the 20's, the publishing industry was marked by a circulation war, the big publishers increased their sales by taking advance orders for low-priced series. In the following decades government control became more stringent. An increasing number of publications were banned for various reasons, not the least being leftist ideology. In the 40's magazines were compelled to merge and the number of publishing companies, were reduced to one-tenth the former number.

When the Second War ended, the controls which the government had exercised for so long were completely abolished. Although in the period immediately after the war it was extremely difficult to obtain printing paper, publishers took advantage of their new-found freedom to resume all kinds of publications.

The biggest change was that leftist publications could be freely published. Publications which bordered on pronography appeared in quantity which led the police in the 1950's to clamp down on pornographic literature the basis of general law. They took D.H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" to court and this case was widely discussed throughout the country. The controversy over pornography continues to this day.

The new Constitution gave local autonomous bodies power to establish their own ordinances. Some regional legislatures used this power to set up ordinances to protect young people and on this basis the distribution of publications which were branded as unwholesome was restric-

ted. Most local autonomous bodies followed suit.

Various publishers in Japan had in 1927 started what are known as the "bunko" books, i.e., libraries of books which are slightly smaller than pocket-size. The "bunko" books were a great success. From 1951, many publishers began to issue "bunko" books of the most varied kinds, including Japanese and foreign classics. The readers welcomed the opportunity to buy books of all kinds at low prices but this trend posed difficult problems for the bookshops.

In 1922, the two big national newspapers, Asahi Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun, began to publish weekly magazines. It was their thought that the main attraction of a weekly is news and that it would be difficult for publishers other than newspapers to put out a weekly.

However, in 1956 a book publisher started the weekly magazine Shukan Shincho and scored an instant success. This triggered a mushrooming of weeklies and within a few years the combined total circulation of the weeklies surpassed that of the monthlies which used to be the mainstream of magazines. The improvement of printing technology made it possible to produce a large number of copies in a short time, and in the 1970's a publisher started a daily magazine in a form which did not differ very much from the conventional newspaper.

Comic magazines which began to be published in the late 50's were at first directed to young people. But as these young readers grew up, they carried their habit into adulthood and the comic magazines has now become a reading matter for grown-ups. Some comics the so-called "gekiga", i.e., "narrative story told with comics", became serialized and began to be carried by general magazines also.

The publishing industry has grown steadily and has become an enterprise whose aim is mass production and mass sales. Currently publishers are diversifying into the record, tape and educational fields.

One of the most important legacies of the six years of American oc-

cupation was the educational system. Even before the new Constitution was adopted, the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law were promulgated and a new educational system was instituted comprising six years of elementary education, six years of secondary education three of which are compulsory, and four years of university.

State-designated textbooks were abolished. Textbooks freely edited and published are used after authorization by the Education Ministry. Some textbooks writers have objected to this new system and the system of authorizing textbooks has become a long drawn out court case.

The new system expanded educational opportunities for women and the universities became co-educational. The administration of the educational system was revised and the power of local school boards was strengthened. The number of universities increased tremendously. With the increase in living standards the number of students in the latter half of secondary education increased. Today, attendance in the latter half of secondary education (high school) is almost on a par with that of compulsory education.

In 1946, the government announced that "toyo kanji" (Chinese characters for daily use) would be limited to 1,850 characters. The movement to limit the number of Chinese characters because of their unintelligibility had been going on for a long time. It was at the beginning of the 20th Century that the Ministry of Education set up the National Language Research Committee to study this problem. Ever since then, the debate over limiting the number of Chinese characters has continued. In 1942, the National Language Review Council of the Education Ministry announced a table of 2,669 standard Chinese characters but it was never adopted for actual use.

The new "toyo kanji" of 1,850 characters took root because it was supported by the newspapers although it was revised several times subsequently. The biggest problem concerned the names of places and people. Eventually, the characters to be used in the names of newly born children, too, were limited. In many of the large cities, place names were

changed wholesale to conform with the new limitations.

Led by literary men, many people opposed limiting the number of Chinese characters, but as those who were educated under the new system grew up those in total opposition dwindled in number. Famous literary works, excluding classics which require strict interpretation, were rewritten to conform with the limitations and were published as "bunko" books.

One of the new customs after the Second World War was the frequency with which foreign words are rendered in "katakana", the Japanese phonetic syllabary. The "katakana" renderings are usually contracted: for instance, mass communication becomes "masu-komi". In Japan, "masu-komi" is frequently used to mean the mass media. In extreme cases, there are words expressed in "katakana" which are in fact made-in-Japan English and are not understood in English-speaking countries.

This phenomenon does not necessarily mean that Japanese culture is being dealt a destructive blow by foreign culture. However, several generations of experimenting may be necessary for Japan's linguistic culture, which has undergone so many basic changes in the past 30 years, to regain its stability.

d. Screen and Stage

by Shinichi Ito

The history of motion pictures in Japan began when the American Kinetoscope was imported and shown in Kobe in 1896 and the Cinematograph from France was shown in Osaka in 1897. Before the first permanent movie house was opened in Tokyo in 1903, the subjects of the motion pictures made in Japan included Kabuki, one of the traditional performing arts of Japan. This was indicative of the subsequent course pursued by motion pictures: they developed in close relation to the legitimate theatre. As early as 1900, Japanese cameramen were sent to cover the Boxer Rising in China, and showed motion pictures as an important news medium.

Japan's first motion picture studio was completed in 1908, and in 1912 Nippon Katsudo Shashin Kabushiki Kaisha (Japan Motion Picture Company) was established, by incorporating a production company that had been established before. This marked the beginning of the Japanese motion picture industry.

The new company came to wield a strong power in the movie industry by operating movie houses in Tokyo and other big cities and by increasing motion picture studios. A special feature of the Japanese cinema were the narrators for motion pictures. They began to speak the lines of characters appearing in silent motion pictures, adjusting their voice to suit each character. Then, music accompaniment was added to the film narration. These movie "talkers" became indispensable and made heavy demands on the motion picture producers. At times, they used provocative expressions in order to attract attention and increase their own popularity. The movie "talkers" played an important role in the motion picture industry until talkies were introduced at the end of the 1920's.

In 1917, police in Tokyo began cracking down on motion picture imposing restrictions to prohibit adolescents under the age of 15 from seeing certain types of films, to separate seats for men and women in the movie houses and to make it mandatory for movie "talkers" to obtain

a qualification license. By means of pre-release inspection, the police prohibited the public showing of obscene scenes, scenes that might impair the dignity of the emperor, and those showing the motive of a crime. From 1925, motion picture control was carried out by the Ministry of Interior.

The Ministry of Education, recognizing the educational value of motion pictures, established a system to encourage the production of motion pictures for children. Moreover, various government Ministries produced their own publicity films and showed them in public.

It was the newspaper that recognized the value of motion pictures as a news medium. In 1908, the Mainichi Shimbun in Osaka organized motion picture teams, which took films around the country and showed them at many places. The Mainichi started to produce news reels regularly from 1924.

In 1934, the Ministry of Interior established the Motion Picture Control Committee which began to supervise the motion picture industry. Import of foreign films was restricted, and motion pictures became a Government propaganda tool. In 1938, the Motion Picture Law was passed by the Diet. Under this law, scripts of feature-length movies were made subject to government examination, while motion picture theatres were compelled to show cultural films or news reels together with feature-length movies. In 1941, ten companies producing feature-length movies were amalgamated and streamlined into three -Shochiku, Toho and Daiei- while more than 200 companies producing cultural and educational films were merged into one Company, and news reel producers into another single company.

After the end of World War II, the Motion Picture Law was abolished making motion picture production completely free. Given freedom for the first time, the motion picture industry was thrown into confusion, but enjoyed great properity despite keen competition. The prosperity of the motion picture industry, however, had to give way to the television industry before long.

One of the remarkable changes which the Japanese motion picture in-

dustry experienced after the war was that Japanese motion pictures were given international recognition, and found an overseas market. In 1952, "Rashomon" directed by Akira Kurosawa won the Grand Prix at the Film Festival in Venice. "Rashomon" which was based on a Japanese literary work did not win such high praise in Japan, but the fact that it won worldwide acclaim greatly influenced the subsequent course of motion picture production.

As a defensive measure against possible enforcement of new regulations and restrictions, the motion picture producers in 1949 formulated the motion picture production ethics code. This voluntary system was criticized whenever a new trend appeared in the movie industry. By mid-1960's pornographic movies increased sharply as a countermeasure against television. After one pornographic film was indicted, the value of this voluntary ethical control mechanism was examined. Although criticism against this system did not abate it was re-examined whenever a problem arose, and has taken root in the Japanese motion picture industry.

As an entertainment medium, motion pictures were not able to compete with television. After the peak year of 1958, the frequency of movie attendance gradually diminished. In 1964, the number of movie houses in Japan fell below 5,000 level, and one of the three major picture companies went bankrupt.

The Iwanami Eiga-sha (film company), established in 1950 by scientists and a publishing house in co-operation with cameramen, gave new stimulus to scientific and educational film-making. Whereas news films waned because they lost their market in competition with television, the production of educational and documentary films attained a steady growth.

Since its start the Japanese motion picture industry had used as a subject for feature films Kabuki, one of the traditional performing arts of Japan. It was in the latter half of the 17th Century that Kabuki attained the form and style which we see today. Kabuki was started by female performers in Kyoto, but Kabuki female performers were later banned and male actors began to perform female roles ("onnagata").

Shortly afterwards, Kabuki began to be produced also in Edo (pre-

sent Tokyo) where "aragoto", or bravura plays featuring superhuman heros and gods, became a tradition. In contrast, "wagoto" dramas which portray human relations and affairs realistically became popular in Kyoto. In Kabuki theatres, a "hanamichi" passage-way through the audience was installed to connect a stage exit behind the audience with the main stage in front of the audience. "Hanamichi" was a contrivance to create the impression that an actor emerges from among the audience. It not only gave the impression that the stage and audience were one but also made it possible for actors to show at close hand their specialty acts and physical attraction.

When Kabuki was brought to perfection, it became a custom for offsprings of actors or others with the required dramatic qualifications to inherit the stage names of famous actors. In this manner, the tradition of specific forms or styles of acting were handed down from generation to generation.

In many cases, a Kabuki actor is a master of a Japanese dance school since dancing is an important element of Kabuki. The master who is called "iemoto" in Japanese, meaning the origin or head of the house, is a person who inherits the orthodox tradition of the performing art of the school he heads. He can not only issue diplonas and licenses but also expel heretics from among his disciples. If the "iemoto" succeeds in attracting a large number of disciples, he can earn a huge income. This tradition of "iemoto" is not limited to Kabuki alone. It is popularly observed in the fields of Japanese-style music, tea ceremony, floral art, Noh and various other performing arts. This "iemoto" system has greatly helped observe tradition but at times it has given rise to abuse.

The puppet drama known today under the name of "Bunraku" is another traditional performing art of Japan which exerted a significant influence on Kabuki. Whereas Kabuki is performed primarily to the style of Japanese music called "nagauta", the "Bunraku" puppet show is performed to the "joruri" narrative recited to the accompaniment of "shamisen" a three-stringed musical instrument. Thus the "jouri" narrator is an important element of musical accompaniment of "Bunraku" dramas.

When a man named Takemoto Gidayu became a "joruri" narrator in the

latter half of the 17th Century, the pattern was established in Osaka of using puppets on the stage and the "shamisen" to provide accompaniment. Later, three puppeteers began to manipulate one doll, perfecting the art of bunraku as it is today.

Bunraku attained a remarkable growth through the works of a Chikamatsu Monzaemon, a samurai warrior-turned playwright, who is often compared with William Shakespeare. Bunraku was performed often in Edo but the central arena of its activities was Osaka. It was only after World War II that the frequency of Bunraku performances in Tokyo increased and since the establishment of Kokuritsu Gekijo, or National Theatre of Japan in 1966 Bunraku has been performed regularly.

Kokuritsu Gekijo mainly produces Kabuki and Bunraku. In addition to these two traditional performing arts of Japan, it produces various other traditional stage arts, including Japanese-style dance. The theatre has become popular and won the support of the general public.

However, Kokuritsu Gekijo has two problems. One of them concerns the theatre's efforts to produce, if possible, the classical performing arts in their original form. This effort on the part of Kokuritsu Gekijo performances know the contents of the classical dramas fairly well, and they wish to see only those acts which they like performed by the most popular actors. There is no guarantee that the indiscriminate revival of old classics will always be welcomed by the audience.

The other problem concernes the training of performers. In order to carry on and develop classical arts, competent and able performers must be trained systematically. In today's highly industrialized society, it is extremely difficult to find qualified persons and entice them to undergo many years of training that might in the end prove fruitless.

One of the classical performing arts not performed at Kokuritsu Gekijo is Noh. This theatrical art which was brought to perfection by the father and son team of Kan-ami and Ze-ami in the 14th Century flourished in the feudal period with the support of the government and the ruling

class. It became one of the cultural attainments of the ruling class to appreciate Noh and also perform at times.

The protagonists in Noh wear masks. Stage sets and props are extremely few and abstract. As in Greek classical drama, a chorus called "jiuta" which is accompanied by "fue" bamboo flutes and "taiko" drums plays an important role in Noh. When the new government was established after the Meiji Restoration in the second half of the 19th Century, the leaders of the new government supported thereby making it possible to continue its 600 year old tradition. Today Noh is performed exclusively in specialized theatres.

In sharp contrast with Noh which is patronized by "intellectuals" "rakugo" or vaudeville story telling is loved by the public irrespective of social class. It was towards the end of the 17th Century that this popular entertainment performed by one narrator was all but brought to perfection. Most "rakugo" tales are intended to elicit hearty laughter from the audience and the climax at the end of each tale is most important. It is said that at the beginning of the 19th Century, in Edo alone, there were more than 150 vaudeville houses exclusively for "rakugo" performances. Although exclusive "rakugo" theatres have decreased today, "rakugo" raconteurs appear on television and are very popular.

It is rather surprising to not that many of these tales are concerned with Buddhism despite the general belief that the Japanese people lack religious feeling. Many "rakugo" tales feature a wise old man and a somewhat stupid young man. The mistakes and faux pas of the stupid youth make him a laughing stock. The lectures of the old man serve to educate the public on etiquette and social conventions.

Today when TV sets have invaded almost every household in Japan, it is interesting to watch the changes that these traditional performing arts may undergo. There were signs of change when Kabuki dramas were made into motion pictures. The acting on the stage of a theatre is different from the close up on a video screen. The reactions of the audience as well as its expectations and sense of satisfaction are different when

they see a Kabuki scene on stage and in a motion picture. Change occurs in both the performers and the audience.

Television has been instrumental in disseminating in the rural communities the kind of culture which existed only in the big cities. At the same time, television has used popular entertainment and performing arts thus far preserved in rural areas and brought them to nationwide audiences. Future developments will largely depend on the cultural policies of the government as well as the educational and cultural level of the public.

e. New Media

by Masao Takasu

After the Second World War, the Japanese Government set as its policy targets economic reconstruction and growth as well as the elimination of militarism and the democratization of the country. Reconstruction was achieved in only 10 years after the war, and the growth of the Japanese economy started from around 1955.

The rapid economic growth continued for 20 years. In this process Japanese society underwent great changes. Remarkable advances were made in making consumer goods abundant, in urbanization, in diversification of values, in dissemination of higher education, in expansion of leisure time, in social welfare, and internationalization. The most fundamental change which is at the root of all other changes was the shift of emphasis in production and consumption from goods and property to knowledge and information in the broad sense.

Against the background of these long-term and irreversible changes which are becoming increasingly conspicuous there has been widespread debate on the subject of "post-industrial society characterized by information" as postulated by Daniel Bell.

The Government's firmly expressed policy of industrial restructuring to keept abreast of the times and the impact of rapid technical innovation particularly in electronics touched off in the mid-1960's a search for a long-term vision by ever industry in Japan. Many industries increased their research and development investment and made vigorous efforts to master advanced technology. Consequently, there was an increasing need to obtain specialized information of high quality as quickly as possible and in great volume. Since the economy was in a high growth period, investment in equipment and information was carried out vigorously in support of technical innovation.

In this situation, the "information industries" or "knowledge indus-

tries", which represent the nucleus of the post-industrial society, achieved a speedy growth after the 1960's.

The production value of Japan's information industry as a whole was around ¥ 2,100,000 million in 1960. It is estimated to have expanded to ¥ 27,300,000 million in 1976. More than seventy percent of this war accounted for by "Class Two" information activities mainly comprising the transmission and processing of information. When it became clear that the transmission of information was a crucial feature of "Class Two" information activity, the restructuring of the telecommunications system became an urgent matter.

As a means of building a modern state under centralized authority, Japan has since the closing years of the 19th Century placed public communication systems such as the postal, telephone and telegraph services under government authority. Even today, the government retains the power to license broadcasting enterprises through the system of allocating radio frequencies. Thus, the government, through the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, displayed strong interest in telecommunication policy and exercised strong leadership.

At the same time, many other organizations took action in the same direction. They included the Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Public Corporation which became independent of the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications in 1952 and the Kokusai Denshin Denwa Co., Ltd., (KDD) (responsible for domestic and international telecommunications respectively). Also involved were the mass media, particularly the newspaper and broadcasting industries, the telecommunication equipment manufacturers, the electronics industry and developers of industrial complexes and housing.

As part of this general trend, experiments are being conducted very actively in Japan to develop telecommunication services as "new media".

Most of the so-called "new media" are still in a stage of experimentation or discussion. Conclusions have not yet been reached as to whether they will develop as an important information industry.

Innovation in Newspaper Production

Except in a very few fields such as rotary press printing, newspaper production in Japan for a long time was lagging in mechanization and modernization. The major problem was the Japanese alphabet. Type had to be picked manually because of the enormous number of Chinese characters.

After the Second World War, a reform was undertaken and in 1946 the number of Chinese characters for ordinary use was limited to 1,850 characters. This made it possible in the early 1950's to mechanize typesetting by using the mono-typesetter. Next, the kanji (Chinese character) teletype was developed which made long distance transmission possible through telegraphic signals. With the adoption of the kanji teletype, the Japanese newspaper industry realized its dream of mechanizing the type-setting process. Thereafter technical innovation in newspaper production progressed at a fast pace.

Subsequently, Japanese newspapers moved on from lead type-setting to cold type-setting. In the 1970's, the modernization of the production process advanced further with the adoption of the computerized type-setting system (CTS). In the mid-1970's, the Asahi Shimbun and the Nihon Keizai Shimbun put into operation the full-page computer composing system, thus demonstrating that the technical level of Japanese newspaper production had reached the world's top standards.

Thus, Japanese newspaper production in the past 10 years has advanced rapidly towards computerization and wireless transmission by adopting electronic technology, new equipment and materials. At the same time, the newspaper companies began to develop new information services.

In Japan, newspapers have co-existed for a long time with radio and television and in recent years, these media have gradually begun to compete with each other. The broadcast media have succeeded in using radio frequencies for multiplex broadcasting while the newspapers have stepped into the telecommunication field in order to develop new methods for

transmitting information.

In 1959, Asahi Shimbun became the first newspaper in the world to use facsimile transmission of newspaper pages by using microwave links between Tokyo and Sapporo. Through this practical demonstration that it is possible to publish the same newspaper at widely separated locations, Japan's facsimile technology registered a big advance. Research was undertaken, mainly by the newspaper industry, on a "home facsimile" system for the transmission of printed information to homes by radio wave communication or coaxial cable.

The first public demonstration of home facsimile was conducted by Asahi Shimbun in 1969. In the following year at EXPO '70 held in Osaka, the Asahi Shimbun, the Yomiuri Shimbun and the Mainichi Shimbun demonstrated home facsimile over a period of six months.

Experiments were continued to improve the home facsimile system. In the "Tama CCIS" experiment, which will be explained in detail later, a "home facsimile newspaper" was actually distributed to private homes. This experiment which began in 1976 confirmed the feasibility of the concept.

In the development of home facsimile distribution as a radio communication service, the original concept was to use frequencies assigned to television broadcasting. However, the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications refused permission on the grounds that it was against the Broadcast Law. Consequently, experiments so far have been conducted by using non-TV radio frequencies. If home facsimile is to become a practical operation, it will have to be institutionalized under the Broadcast Law.

The Telecommunication Situation

As the "informatization" of Japanese society progressed, the telecommunication industry, made considerable progress between 1965 and 1975. Through general availability and technological sophistication, telecommu-

nication has come to play an increasingly important role in corporate activities and for the consumers. The most concpicuous development in terms of quantitative expansion was the dissemination of the telephone. When the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (NTT) was established in 1952, the number of telephones in Japan was no more than 1,400,000 sets. The number increased to 5,000,000 in 1963 and surpassed the 10 million mark in 1968.

Later, as service improved with the progress made in switching technology and the adoption of nationwide automatic dialing system, the spread of the telephone was accelerated. In 1972, there were 20 million telephones and, in 1975, the number surpassed 30 million.

This rapid dissemination of the telephone, brought about a change in Japanese communication patterns. Until then, the individual's main means of exchanging information were media such as mail and cables which to a considerable degree have been replaced by the telephone. The number of telegrams which totalled about 85 million per year in 1961 declined to less than half, or 38 million in 1978.

In Japan, the "Public Telecommunication Law" allows NTT a complete monopoly of domestic communications and the KDD monopoly control of international communications. The only exception is the cable broadcast telephone service carried out by agricultural co-operative associations under the "Special Law Governing Cable Broadcast Telephones" in force since 1957. This system expanded rapidly to become an important means of communication in farming communities.

The cable broadcast telephone system in a way revolutionalized communications in Japanese farm villages which had few means of communication. However, the remarkable expansion of NTT's telephone system from 1965 to 1975 had an important effect on this system. After reaching a peak in 1968, the number of cable broadcast telephone facilities and subscriber households has either levelled off or begun to decline.

Progress in telecommunication technology has since 1970 resulted

in news services such as data communication and facsimile communication that use public communication lines.

In Japan, CATV systems began to be used on a small scale from the mid-1960's, primarily as a means to solve the problem of poor reception in mountain villages located far from the broadcasting stations in the big cities. In the autumn of 1968, a company called "Japan Cablevision Broadcasting Network" began offering services in Tokyo's central districts. Utilizing the large capacity of the coaxial cable, the company began promoting plans for various types of information services, besides the usual re-transmission of television programmes, such as two-day communication service.

These projects have generated much interest and discussion. They inspired various industries to develop related systems. Interested industries included not only the existing mass media such as broadcasting stations and newspapers but also the electronics and education industries and community developers.

The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications drafted legislation to regulate CATV services in order to prevent excessive competition and to maintain order in the management of telecommunications. In 1969, the Ministry submitted to the Diet a bill to revise the "Law for Regulating the Operation of Cable Broadcasting Business". The bill, was opposed as being detrimental to the development of CATV as an information industry, and was subsequently dropped.

After the bill was shelved, the Ministry prevented uncontrolled growth of CATV companies through administrative guidance and prepared a new law based on a broader view of the problems of the telecommunication business, including CATV. Several bodies were established to serve as private advisory groups to the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, such as the "Coaxial Cable Information System (CCIS) Study Council", "Communication Problems Deliberation Council", and "Information Distribution Research Society".

In 1971 and 1972, the draft bill "on cable television broadcasting"

was submitted to the Diet. The CATV law came into force in 1973, and the legal aspect of the environment surrounding CATV was stabilized.

The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, on the recommendation of the CCIS Study Committee, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), jointly established a public service body. With government funds and contributions from industry, a national project was launched to conduct experiments on the effectiveness of multiple use of coaxial cable systems including two-way communication.

One of the projects is the "Tama CCIS", an experiment which was started in 1976 in Tama New Town in suburban Tokyo under the supervision of the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. The other is the experiment launched in 1978 in a residential complex in Higashi-Ikoma, Nara Prefecture. This project is called the Highly Interactive Optical Visual Information System (Hi-Ovis).

These two experiments offer more than the simple re-transmission of television signals or independent broadcasting. The projects are experiments in the use of highly sophisticated information systems offering various types of two-way communication service. Neither the CCIS nor Hi-Ovis is a new independent communication medium but really represent a combination of various new communication media.

In the CCIS experiment started in 1976, a variety of new media groups and service groups were tested in addition to re-transmission of TV programmes and broadcasting of independent programmes. Experiments were conducted on automatic repeat broadcasting, response broadcasting, pay television, fixed image request service, facsimile newspapers and copy service.

The novel feature of the CCIS experiments was the two-way communication services such as the response broadcast and fixed image request service. These services allow the user to retrieve information freely by using a special terminal equipment and displaying information on a home television set or to express opinions or reply to questions by

addressing the information center. Such services have never existed before and the major problem is the development of various applications. Experiments have shown that these new media could play an important role; in particular, high ratings have been given to media using facsimile technology, such as facsimile newspaper and copy service.

The Hi-Ovis experiments were started in the summer 1978. This system features optical fibre which has been developed as a new transmission medium. By using optical cables, a complete two-way communication system can be established that allows users to converse over a video phone system with television cameras located in each household.

In the case of the Tama CCIS, the lines connecting the information center to each household are circuits that carry only voice information. Hi-Ovis, on the other hand, transmits television images. Thus, while Hi-Ovis is more expensive, it has wider applications.

The Hi-Ovis experiments include video and still image services in addition to broadcast re-transmission and original programming. The Hi-Ovis experiments are on a more sophisticated level, using the results of CCIS experiments.

Aside from these two new media experiments already underway, preparations are being made to conduct experiments on other new media such as the Character and Pattern Access Information Network (CAPTAINS), which combines the ordinary subscriber telephone with television, and the Visual Response System (VRS) being developed by NTT. VRS is a system which combines telephone and television to transmit moving as well as still pictures.

These developing media hold great promise in terms of technology but there are still problems of costs and uncertainties as to their future commercialization.

f. Adoption of the Codes of Journalism and Evaluation of Newspaper Content

by Susumu Ijiri

Newspapers in many countries started to regulate their own activities after World War II. The Japanese newspaper industry was one of the quickest to move towards self-regulation. This owes much to the newspaper policy adopted by the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers.

The Nihon Shimbun Kyokai (The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association) was established on July 23, 1946. At the inaugural general meeting, the Canons of Journalism were adopted as the standard of activities by the member newspapers. The membership qualification is defined, in the articles of association adopted at the same time, as "a daily newspaper which has pledged itself to observe the Canons of Journalism as established by the Nihon Shimbun Kyokai". Listed first among the work of NSK is "enhancement of newspaper ethics and spreading the study of newspapers".

For the purpose of carrying out its tasks, the "Newspaper Content Evaluation Chamber was established within the Association, which examined the contents of the dailies published by the 126 member newspapers. Veteran journalists were appointed to undertake the evaluation. Every day, they read carefully the articles and advertisements in newspapers and check tem against the Canons of Journalism and the evaluation standard for the implementation of these canons.

The purpose of the review is not merely to find faults but also to inform newsmen all over the country about the general trend in reporting, distinctive ways of news treatment, and the Chamber's evaluation through NSK's weekly organ.

If an article is considered as violating the evaluation standard, it is brought to the attention of the responsible editor of the newspaper carrying it. In some cases, a member of the NSK's evaluation chamber

attends the regional meeting of managing editors to suggest improvements while referring to specific instances.

The results of review are reported at the monthly meetings of NSK's Editorial Affairs Committee composed of the managing editors of about 50 newspapers. If there is found any newspaper article which this committee considers to be a serious violation of the standard, a warning is issued by committee decision to the responsible editor of the newspaper in question. If the warning is ignored, the matter is brought to NSK's Board of Directors and the newspaper is suspended as a member or is expelled from NSK. So far, two member newspapers have been expelled. Such punishment is very effective in that the reputation of the expelled newspaper is severely damaged and its financial transactions with banks and other organs would also be seriously affected.

A majority of Japanese newspapers have their own evaluation systems. NSK sponsors semiannual meetings of evaluation personnel in order to improve the evaluation standard.

A "Mass Communication Ethics Discussion Group" was organized in March 1955 for the purpose of expanding ethical activities among the mass media. Its members are the newspaper, broadcasting, publishing, motion picture, and record companies or associations. A permanent secretariat of the group was established within the NSK. With branches in 10 regions across the country, this group promotes the exchange of information concerning the ethical activities of mass media in each region and the harmonization of different opinions. Monthly bulletings are issued by the head office in Tokyo. Furthermore, annual national meetings are held in each of the regions by rotation to which knowledgeable people of the region are invited to comment on the mass media and, at the same time, opinions are exchanged. The organization is very active in enhancing the mass media's ethical level.

Promotion of Friendship on the People's Level Through International Exchange

After World War II, Japanese newspapers began to show a very live-

ly interest in exchange between nations.

In December 1948, the Nihon Shimbun Kyokai published its first yearbook in English introducing the Japanese newspaper situation to the world. Ever since, it has published a yearbook annually for distribution around the world. The preface of the first annual emphasized the need for international exchange in the newspaper world in the following words: "The chief reason for Japan's plunging into war was the lack of mutual understanding. The Japanese knew too little about other countries and made no special efforts to make their country known to other countries. Recognizing the need to make positive efforts in this direction in every field of activity, we have decided to issue this report annually".

In 1952, soon after the allied occupation of the country ended, the Japanese press joined the FIEJ (International Federation of Newspaper Publishers Associations) and the IPI (International Press Institute) to establish closer contacts with the international press, and sent delegates to the general meetings of these organizations. General meetings have been held in Japan, a number of times, resulting in closer cooperative relations with other nations.

In 1954, the Japanese press started exchange with Asian newspapers. Since then the exchanges with newspapers of other countries have expanded yearly. The NSK took the lead in these activities.

In 1954, 11 news reporters from the Philippines covering that country's legislative senate were invited to Japan. Two years later in 1956, six Indonesian reporters were invited.

NSK decided, at a meeting of its Board of Directors in January 1965, to launch a long-range continuous program to help the development of the press of Asian countries. The program has been operating since then according to plans and without interruption for 14 years.

The seminars held so far under this program covered the entire area

of the newspaper business: news gathering, reporting, copy editing, photography and communication in the editorial field; accounting, circulation and advertisement in the business field; and platemaking and printing in the technical field. The seminars were recorded in English in booklet form to be distributed among Asian newspapers.

The Press Foundation of Asia was created as a training institute for Asian journalists, and its first general meeting was held in Seoul in April 1968. The Japanese press made a contribution of $ 30,000 as a basic fund to facilitate its establishment. The Japanese press, in cooperation with the PFA, sponsored seminars in Japan which were part of the PFA's activities, and also sent many training personnel to seminars held elsewhere in Asia. In 1978, it contibuted ¥ 3,000,000 (approximately US$ 15,000) to the PFA for its training programs for newsmen in the Asian region. It plans to make a similar contribution this year and annually in the future.

From 1965 to 1978, 25 seminars for the benefit of journalists of the Asian region, were held in Japan, with a total of 368 participants; 186 newsmen were invited to Japan under the journalist exchange programs; and 70 Japanese newspaper experts were sent to other Asian countries to conduct seminars there.

There are other regularly scheduled conferences intended to help mutual exchange of newsmen in the Asian region.

The first such conference was the Japan-Republic of Korea Editors' Seminar held in Tokyo in 1964 under the good offices of the IPI, with a large number of editors from both countries participating. This seminar was started on the mutual recognition that deeper understanding between the peoples of the neighboring countries which have close political, economic, and cultural relations will exercise a great influence on the peace and stability of the Far East. Sixteen seminars have been held up to 1978, with each nation acting as the host by rotation.

Further, at the request of the press of Indonesia, which has close

relations with Japan, the first conference of the editors of the two countries was held in Tokyo in 1976, and the second in Jakarta in 1977. On that occasion, it was agreed that the membership would be expanded to include the editors of Japan and the five ASEAN countries. The first Japan-ASEAN Editors' Conference was held in Tokyo in January 1978. It was decided at this conference that a total of 10 middle-level news reporters, two from each of the five ASEAN countries, would be invited to Japan to attend a three-month seminar. The first seminar was held in Tokyo from August to October in 1978. The second seminar will be held in Tokyo for two months from June 1979, with 15 participants, three from each ASEAN country and, in addition, two observers selected from among the newsmen of the EC in cooperation with the "Journalists in Europe" in Paris.

There are also regular conferences designed to promote mutual exchange of newsmen between Japan and countries in non-Asian regions. They include a conference started in 1962 between the Soviet Union and Japan, one started in 1970 between the U.S. and Japan, the trilateral conference started in 1977 between the U.S., Japan and the EC, and the conference begun in 1978 between Australia and Japan.